

SUMMER 2004

Volume 2004 • Number 2 • \$15.00

# THE KEYNOTER

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL ITEMS COLLECTORS



## BUY *EXTRA* BONDS!

**The Time of Their Lives**

by Tom Brokaw

**William Randolph Hearst for President**

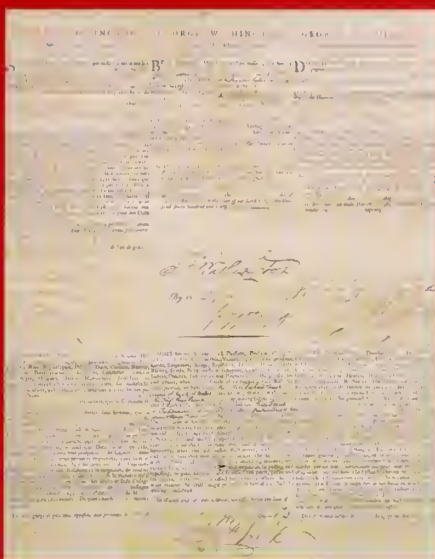
**The First Reagan Victory**

**Barry Goldwater**

**Kerry Locals**

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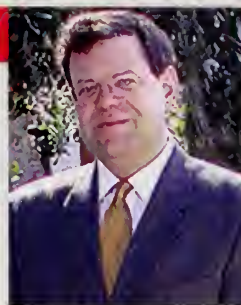


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## FROM THE APIC PRESIDENT.

**Dear APIC members,**

This issue of The Keynoter marks our second journal in an expanded and full color format. The positive responses to our last issue were enthusiastic and overwhelming, and it is obvious that our readership appreciates the improvements we have made .

All members of the US Senate and Congress are now complementary members of APIC and receive copies of the Keynoter for their review and enjoyment. We welcome our national elected officials as members, and invite them to participate in our hobby's activities to the extent their schedules allow.

We also acknowledge and appreciate APIC member Frank Cherry's sharing of rare and seldom seen Reagan gubernatorial buttons for this issue. As many of our members are aware, Frank has been recognized as having one of the top Reagan collections in our hobby.

Lastly, APIC extends a thank you to Tom Brokaw, whose essay on "the greatest generation" is part of his award-winning research into the World War II generation. We are delighted to include his work in these pages and his support of our efforts to make The Keynoter a flagship publication.

With Best Regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "B. Krapf".

**Brian E. Krapf**  
President





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## EDITOR'S MESSAGE

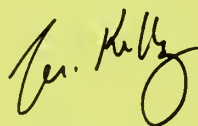
*Production growing pains are still with us as we present our second full color Keynoter but we are gaining strength every day. The lead article by NBC News anchor Tom Brokaw lays out the environment in America as World War II approached. It is a fine evocation of one of the most important eras in our history.*

*A significant — and unpredictable — change in American politics is television's being supplanted by the Internet as the vehicle for the social conversation that is a political campaign. Yet television itself once supplanted newspapers in that role.*

*In the early days of the Republic, voters would expect a presidential candidate to remain silent during the campaign. It would have been thought inappropriate for a potential president to make a speech on his own behalf. In the America of 2004, the role of politician as effective communicator is almost paramount. We have elected film stars to the highest offices while criticizing knowledgeable, experienced candidates for their lack of communication skills.*

*One of the forerunners of the politician as a communicator was William Randolph Hearst. The Hearst name is still known today as a major force in publishing but today's formidable Hearst corporate empire doesn't come close to the media dominance once wielded by William Randolph Hearst at his peak.*

*As I write this, we are past Labor Day 2004 and the Bush/Kerry campaign is plunging ahead at full blast. Note the article showing John Kerry locals from Massachusetts. The Dukakis/ Kerry buttons from his 1982 race for lieutenant governor as the running mate of (1988 Democratic presidential nominee) Michael Dukakis are certain to be especially desired collectibles no matter whether Kerry wins in November or not. If Kerry wins, Democrats will love them and if he loses, Republicans will display them with glee.*



Michael Kelly  
Editor



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**ILLUSTRATIONS**— The editor wishes to thanks the following for providing illustrations for this issue: Anthony Atkiss, Germaine Broussard, Frank Cherry, Michael Dunham, Robert Fratkin, Brian Krapf and Jordan Wright.

**NEXT ISSUE** — Nowhere in America (with the possible exception of NYC) is politics as colorful and personal as in the South. Our Fall issue will focus on the Politics of the South.

**SUBMISSIONS** — This is your publication. Please feel free to share your ideas, suggestions, illustrations and stories. The Keynoter is delighted to share pictures of interesting political Americana with its readers. When submitting an illustration, send it as an .eps, .jpg or .pdf file to [mkelly@mcc.edu](mailto:mkelly@mcc.edu). Illustrations should be in color and submitted in digital format with at least 300 dpi resolution (preferably higher). Files must be created at 100% of actual size or larger (smaller risks losing clarity). Digital electronic images should be saved to a minimum of 300dpi as TIF, GIF, JPEG or EPS files, preferably in Adobe Photoshop

If you don't have access to a scanner or high-resolution digital camera, you can take your items to graphic service bureaus, such as Kinko's, and have them scanned in the specification mentioned above. You can then send the file by e-mail, on a CD or on a zip disk.



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## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### Top Ten Comments About The New Keynoter:

- 10) Wow.
- 9) Fantastic.
- 8) Deeeeeeeelighted.
- 7) Outstanding.
- 6) Is this a professional club or what?
- 5) Did I mention...deeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeeelighted?
- 4) Sensational.
- 3) Professional.
- 2) I said deeeeeeeeeeeeeelighted, didn't I?
- 1) Top drawer.

Jay Meritt (APIC #13826)

*Congratulations on the great issue. This type of quality will do more to legitimize our hobby than anything else. Thanks so much for all your efforts and also for the nice article on my favorite President.*

Peggy Dillard (APIC #7569)

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**APIC NEWSLETTER AND CALENDAR OF EVENTS:** Harvey Goldberg, Editor, P.O. Box 922, Clark, NJ 07066.

APIC seeks to encourage and support the study and preservation of original materials issuing from and relating to political campaigns of the United States of America and to bring its members fuller appreciation and deeper understanding of the candidates and issues that form our political heritage.

All correspondence about content should be addressed to:

### Editor

Michael Kelly  
 1901 Montclair Avenue  
 Flint, MI 48503  
 [Email: mkelly@mcc.edu]

All correspondence about advertising should be addressed to:

### Publisher

Jordan Wright  
 468 West Broadway (#4G)  
 New York NY 10012  
 [Email: jordan@ashlee.com]

### Art Director

Bülent Bingöl

### Production Director

Jennifer Hintze

All correspondence about mailing and copies should be addressed to:

### Member Services

Rick Moses  
 PO Box 5632  
 Derwood, MD 20855-0632  
 E-mail - memberservices@apic.us  
 Ph: 301-926-7648

### Associate Editor

Robert Fratkin

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# The Time of Their Lives

By Tom Brokaw

*Tom Brokaw has been anchor of NBC Nightly News with Tom Brokaw since 1983. He is the author of three bestsellers: The Greatest Generation, The Greatest Generation Speaks, and An Album of Memories. Tom Brokaw graduated from the University of South Dakota with a degree in political science. Brokaw was the White House correspondent for NBC News during Watergate and has won every major award in broadcast journalism, including two DuPonts, a Peabody and several Emmys.*

*"This generation of Americans has a rendezvous with destiny."  
- Franklin Delano Roosevelt*

The year of my birth, 1940, was the fulcrum of America in the twentieth century, when the nation was balanced precariously between the darkness of the Great Depression on one side and the storms of war in Europe and the Pacific on the other. It was a critical time in the shaping of this nation and the world, equal to the revolution of 1776 and the perils of the Civil War. Once again the American people understood the magnitude of the challenge, the importance of an unparalleled national commitment, and most of all, the certainty that only one resolution was acceptable. The nation turned to its young to carry the heaviest burden, to fight in enemy territory and to keep the home front



secure and productive. These young men and women were eager for the assignment. They understood what was required of them, and they willingly volunteered for their duty.

Many of them had been born just twenty years earlier than I, in a time of national promise, optimism, and prosperity, when all things seemed possible as the United States was swiftly taking its place as the most powerful nation in the world. World War 1 was over, America's industrial might was coming of age with the rise of the auto industry and the nascent communications industry, Wall Street was booming, and the popular culture was rich with the likes of Babe Ruth, Eugene O'Neill, D.W. Griffith, and a new author on the scene, F. Scott Fitzgerald. What those unsuspecting infants could not have realized, of course, was that these were temporary conditions, a false spring to a life that would be buffeted by winds of change dangerous and unpredictable, so fierce that they threatened not just America but the very future of the planet.

Nonetheless, 1920 was an auspicious year for a young person to enter the world as an American citizen. The U.S. population had topped 106 million people, and the landscape was changing rapidly from agrarian to urban, even though one in three Americans still lived on a farm. Women were gaining the right to vote with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment, and KDKA in Pittsburgh was broadcasting the first radio signals across the middle of America. Prohibition was beginning, but so was the roaring lifestyle that came with the flouting of Prohibition and the culture that produced it. In far-off Russia the Bolshevik revolution was a bloody affair, but its American admirers were unable to stir comparable passions here.

Five years later this American child born in 1920 still seemed to be poised for a life of ever greater prosperity, opportunity, and excitement. President Calvin "Silent Cal" Coolidge was a benign presence in the White House, content to let the bankers, industrialists, and speculators run the country as they saw fit.

As the twenties roared along, the Four Horsemen of Notre Dame were giving Saturdays new meaning with their college football heroics. Jack Dempsey and Gene Tunney were raising the spectacle of heavyweight boxing matches to new heights of frenzy. Baseball was a daytime game and a true national pastime, from the fabled Yankee Stadium to the sandlots in rural America.

The *New Yorker* was launched, and the place of magazines occupied a higher order. Flappers were dancing the Charleston; Fitzgerald was publishing *The Great Gatsby*; the



Scopes trial was under way in Tennessee, with Clarence Darrow and William Jennings Bryan in a passionate and theatrical debate on evolution versus the Scriptures. A. Philip Randolph organized the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the beginning of a long struggle to force America to face its shameful policies and practices on race.

By the time this young American who had such a promising start reached the age of ten, his earlier prospects were shattered; the fault lines were active everywhere: the stock market was struggling to recover from the crash of 1929, but the damage was too great. U.S. income was falling fast. Thirteen hundred banks closed. Businesses were failing everywhere, sending four

and a half million people onto the streets with no safety net. The average American farm family had an annual cash income of four hundred dollars.

Herbert Hoover, as president, seemed to be paralyzed in the face of spreading economic calamity; he was a distant

figure of stern bearing whose reputa-

tion as an engineering genius and management wizard was quickly replaced by cruel caricatures of his aloofness from the plight of the ever larger population of poor.

Congress passed the disastrous Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act, establishing barriers to world trade and exacerbating an already raging global recession.

Yet Henry Luce managed to launch *Fortune*, a magazine specializing in business affairs. United Airlines and American Airlines, still in their infancy, managed to stay airborne. Lowell Thomas began a nightly national radio newscast on both NBC and CBS. The Lone Ranger series was heard on radio.

Overseas, three men were plotting to change the world: Adolf Hitler in Germany, Joseph Stalin in Russia, and Mao Zedong in China. In American politics, the New York governor, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, was planning his campaign for the



**FDR was elected four times and had three vice presidents. His running mate in 1932 and 1936 was John Nance Garner. In 1940 it was Henry Wallace and in 1944, Harry Truman.**

1932 presidential election.

By 1933, when the baby born in 1920 was entering teenage years, the promise of that early childhood was shattered by crashing world economies. American farmers were able to produce only about sixteen bushels of corn per acre, and the prices were so low that it was more efficient to feed the corn to the hogs than take it to market. It was the year my mother moved with her parents and sister off their South Dakota farm and into a nearby small town, busted by the market and the merciless drought. They took one milk cow, their pride and their determination to just keep going somehow.

My mother, who graduated from high school at sixteen, had no hope of affording college, so she went to work in the local post office for a dollar a day. She was doing better than her father, who earned ten cents an hour working at a nearby grain elevator.

My father, an ambitious and skilled construction equipment operator, raced around the Midwest in his small Ford coupe, working hellishly long hours on road crews, hoping he could save enough in the warm weather months to get through another long winter back home in the small wood-frame hotel his sisters ran for railroad men, traveling salesmen, and local itinerants in the Great Plains village founded by his grandfather Richard Brokaw, a Civil War veteran who came to the Great Plains as a cook for railroad crews.

A mass of homeless and unemployed men drifted across the American landscape, looking for work or a handout wherever they could find it. More than thirty million Americans had no income of any kind. The American military had more horses than tanks, and its only action had been breaking up a demonstration of World War I veterans demanding their pension bonuses a year earlier.

Franklin Roosevelt took the oath of office as President of the United States, promising a New Deal for the beleaguered American people, declaring to a nation with more than fifteen million people out of work, "The only thing we have to fear is fear itself"

He pushed through an Emergency Banking Act, a Federal Emergency Relief Act, a National Industrial Recovery Act, and by 1935 set in motion the legislation that would become the Social Security system.

**BUY  
FROM THE  
UNEMPLOYED**

Not everyone was happy. Rich Americans led by the Du Ponts, the founders of General Motors, and big oil millionaires founded the Liberty League to oppose the New Deal. Privately, in the salons of the privileged, Roosevelt was branded a traitor to his class.



In Germany, a former painter with a spell-binding oratorical style took office as chancellor and immediately set out to seize control of the political machinery of Germany with his National Socialist German Workers party, known informally as the Nazis. Adolf Hitler began his long march to infamy. He turned on the Jews, passing laws that denied them German citizenship, codifying the anti-Semitism that eventually led to the concentration camps and the gas chambers, an act of hatred so deeply immoral it will mark the twentieth century forever.

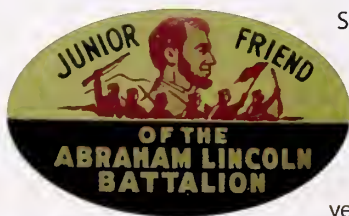


By the late thirties in America, anti-Semitism was the blatant message of Father Charles Coughlin, a messianic Roman Catholic priest with a vast radio audience. Huey Long, the brilliant Louisiana populist, came to power, first as governor and then as a U.S. Senator, preaching in his own spellbinding fashion

the power of the little guy against the evils of Wall Street and corporate avarice.



When our young American was reaching eighteen, in 1938, the flames of war were everywhere in the world: Hitler had seized Austria; the campaign against Jews had intensified with Kristallnacht, a vicious and calculated campaign to destroy all Jewish businesses within the Nazi realm. Japan continued its brutal and genocidal war against the Chinese; and in Russia, Stalin was presiding over show trials, deporting thousands to Siberia, and summarily executing his rivals in the Communist party. The



Spanish Civil War was a losing cause for the loyalists, and a diminutive fascist general, Francisco Franco, began a reign that would last forty years.

In this riotous year the British Prime Minister, Neville Chamberlain, believed he had saved his country with a pact negotiated with Hitler at Munich. He returned to England to declare, "I believe it is peace for our time...peace with honor"

It was neither.

At home, Roosevelt was in his second term, trying to balance the continuing need for extraordinary efforts to revive the economy with what he knew was the great peril abroad. Congress passed the Fair Labor Standards Act, setting a limit on hours worked and a minimum wage. The federal government began a system of parity payments to farmers and subsidized foreign wheat sales.

In the fall of 1938, Dwight David Eisenhower, a career soldier who had grown up on a small farm outside of Abilene Kamas, was a forty-eight-year-old colonel in the U.S. Army. He had an infectious grin and a fine reputation as a military planner, but he had no major combat command experience. The winds of war were about to carry him to the highest peaks of military glory and political reward. Ike, as he was called, would become a folksy avatar of his time.



Dwight Eisenhower was perhaps the most popular American figure from World War II. This first button was issued during the war. The second is from the attempt by Democrats to draft him for president in 1948 and the third from his GOP campaign in 1952.

America was entertained by Benny Goodman, Glenn Miller, Woody Guthrie, and the music of Hoagy Carmichael, the big-screen film magic of Clark Gable, Cary Grant, Katharine Hepburn, Errol Flynn, Ginger Rogers, Fred Astaire, Bette Davis, and Henry Fonda.

At the beginning of a new decade, 1940, just twenty years after our young American entered a world of such great promise and prosperity, it was clear to all but a few delusional isolationists that war would define this generation's coming of age.

France, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Denmark, Norway, and Romania had all fallen to Nazi aggression. German troops controlled Paris. In the east, Stalin was rapidly





**These small cartoon statues of Stalin, FDR and Churchill reflect their popularity with the American public during the wartime alliance. While Churchill remains popular among Americans today, the popularity of Stalin did not survive the Cold War.**

building up one of the greatest ground armies ever to defend Russia and communism.

Japan signed a ten-year military pact with Germany and Italy, forming an Axis they expected would rule the world before the decade was finished.

Roosevelt, elected to his third term, again by a landslide, was preparing the United States, pushing through the Export Control Act to stop the shipment of war materials overseas. Contracts were arranged for a new military vehicle called the jeep. A fighter plane was developed. It would be designated the P-51 Mustang. Almost 20 percent of the budget FDR submitted to Congress was for defense needs. The first peacetime military draft in U.S. history was activated.

Roosevelt stayed in close touch with his friend, the new prime minister of England, Winston Churchill, who told the English: "I have nothing to offer but blood, toil, tears and sweat." And "We shall not flag or fail... we shall fight on the seas and ocean... we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields and on the streets, we shall fight in the hills, we shall never surrender"

Our twenty-year-old American learned something of war by reading *For Whom the Bell Tolls* by Ernest Hemingway and something else about the human spirit by watching "The Grapes of Wrath," the film based on John Steinbeck's novel, directed by John Ford and starring Henry Fonda. The majority of black Americans were still living in the states of the former Confederacy and they remained second-class citizens, or worse,

in practice and law. Negro men were drafted and placed in segregated military units even as America prepared to fight a fascist regime that had a core belief the inherent superiority of the Aryan people.

It had been a turbulent twenty years for our young American, and the worst and the best were yet to come. On December 7, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor. Across America on that Sunday afternoon, the stunning news from the radio electrified the nation and changed the lives of all who heard it. Marriages were postponed or accelerated. College was deferred. Plans of any kind for the future were calibrated against the quickening pace of the march to war.

Shortly after the attack, Winston Churchill called FDR from the prime minister's country estate, Chequers. In his book *The Grand Alliance*, Churchill recounted the conversation. "Mr. President, what's this about Japan?" Roosevelt replied, "It's quite true. They have attacked us at Pearl Harbor. We are all in the same boat now."

Churchill couldn't have been happier. He would now have the manpower, the resources, and the political will of the United States actively engaged in this fight for survival. He wrote, "So we had won after all." A few days later, after Germany and Italy had declared war against the United States, Churchill wrote to Anthony Eden, his foreign secretary, who was traveling to Russia, "The accession of the United States makes amends for all, and with time and patience will give us certain victory."

In America, young men were enlisted in the military by the hundreds of thousands. Farm kids from the Great Plains who never expected to see the ocean in their lifetimes signed up for the Navy; brothers followed brothers into the Marines; young daredevils who were fascinated by the new frontiers of flight volunteered for pilot training. Single young women poured into Washington to fill the exploding needs for clerical help as the political capital mobilized for war. Other women, their husbands or boyfriends off to basic training, learned to drive trucks or handle welding torches. The old rules of gender and expectation changed radically with what was now expected of this generation.

My mother and father, with my newborn brother and me in the backseat of the 1938 Ford sedan that would be our family car for the next decade, moved to that hastily constructed Army ammunition depot called Igloo, on the alkaline and sagebrush landscape of far southwestern South Dakota. I was three years old.



The alliance between what Churchill called “the English-speaking peoples” was reflected in a variety of objects like the ceramics pictured above.

It was a monochromatic world, the bleak brown prairies, Army green cars and trucks, khaki uniforms everywhere. My first impressions of women were not confined to those of my mother caring for my brothers and me at home. I can still see in my mind's eye a woman in overalls carrying a lunch bucket, her hair covered in a red bandanna, swinging out of the big Army truck she had just parked, headed for home at the end of a long day. Women in what had been men's jobs were part of the new work-day world of a nation at war.

Looking back, I can recall that the grown-ups all seemed to have a sense of purpose that was evident even to someone as young as four, five, or six. Whatever else was happening in our family or neighborhood, there was something greater connecting all of us, in large ways and small.

Indeed there was, and the scope of the national involvement was reflected in the numbers: by 1944, twelve million Americans were in uniform; war production represented 44 percent of the Gross National Product; there were almost nineteen million more workers than there had been five years earlier, and 35 percent of them were woman. The nation was immersed in the war effort at every level.

The young Americans of this time constituted a generation birth-marked for greatness, a generation of Americans that would take its place in American history with the generations that had converted the North American wilderness into the United States and infused the new nation with self-determination embodied first in the Declaration of Independence and then in the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

At the end of the twentieth century the contributions of the generation would be in bold print in any review of this turbulent and earth-altering time. It may be historically premature to

judge the greatness of a whole generation, but indisputably, there are common traits that cannot be denied. It is a generation that, by and large, made no demands of homage from those who followed and prospered economically, politically, and culturally, because of its sacrifices. It is a generation of towering achievement and modest demeanor, a legacy of their formative years when they were participants in and witness to sacrifices of the highest order. They know how many of the best of their generation didn't make it to their early twenties, how many brilliant scientists, teachers, spiritual and business leaders, politicians and artists were lost in the ravages of the greatest war the world has ever seen.

The enduring contributions of this generation transcend gender. The world we know today was shaped not just on the front lines of combat. From the Great Depression forward, through the war and into the years of rebuilding and unparalleled progress on almost every front, women were essential to and leaders in the greatest national mobilization of resources and spirit the country had ever known. They were also distinctive in that they raised the place of their gender to new heights; they changed forever the perception and the reality of women in all disciplines of American life.

Millions of men and women were involved in this tumultuous journey through adversity and achievement, despair and triumph. Certainly there were those who failed to measure up, but taken as a whole this generation did have a “rendezvous with destiny” that went well beyond the outsized expectations of President Roosevelt when he first issued that call to duty in 1936.

Each of their lives was distinctive and yet reflective of the common experiences of that trying time and this generation of greatness.



# William Randolph Hearst: Publisher and Presidential Hopeful

**By Michael Kelly**

*Michael Kelly (APIC#395) has been active in both politics and journalism. He worked on Capitol Hill, was a member of the 1988 Electoral College and delegate to the 1992 Republican National Convention. His weekly newspaper column on economics was carried by forty newspapers and he has edited The Keynoter since 1992. He is on the staff of Mott Community College in Michigan and earned his BA from Notre Dame and MA from Wayne State University. He specializes in Black Republicans, abolitionists and the Reconstruction era.*



We live in an information age. Our political contests are not held in the streets but in the media. Where presidential candidates once made long, serious speeches before large audiences, candidates now appear on our home video screens. The long speeches have been distilled into punchy messages, most of which can be articulated in a few seconds.

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century, American politics was based on handwritten letters, personal visits, genteel conversations and campaign songs. By the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (starting with Eisenhower in 1952 and confirmed by Nixon in 1968), electronic media came to dominate political discourse. Throughout the history of the Republic, however, were newspapers. Ben Franklin was a newspaper publisher. One of the first steps Thomas Jefferson took to build what would become the Democratic Party was to fund a newspaper to tell his version of current events.

In the mid-19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the political wars were joined on the battlefield of newspapers. In 2004 campaigns raise money to buy TV spots but in 1904 the country read each newspaper article and editorial as if watching punches thrown in a boxing match.

Publishers were field commanders; columnists and cartoonists the cavalry; newsboys the front line privates. Publishers were political king-makers and many – Horace Greeley, Frank Knox, Frank Gannett, Warren Harding and James Cox among others – became candidates themselves. But no one demonstrated the power of blending newspapers with politics, or explored its limitations, more fully than William Randolph Hearst.

William Randolph Hearst was born on April 29, 1863 to parents who were among the richest people in the country. His father, George Hearst, made a great fortune in mining. Like other successful businessmen of the era, George Hearst took a fancy to politics and wound up in the U.S. Senate.

When Sen. George Hearst took office in 1887, his son took over running the *San Francisco Examiner*, an unsuccessful newspaper that Sen. Hearst had won in a poker game.

William Randolph Hearst threw himself into the work, spent his father's money lavishly, and created a new sensational journalism that fought the special interests, luridly described decapitated nude corpses, and sold like hotcakes. Whether because of the shocking crime stories or the often successful battles against the trusts, Hearst's success allowed him to expand. In 1895, he bought the *New York Journal* and then turned a small advertiser into the *New York Morning American*. In 1900 came the *Chicago American* followed by the *Chicago Morning Examiner* in 1902, and the *Boston American* and the *Los Angeles Examiner* in 1904, followed by other newspapers, magazines and newsreels.

William Randolph Hearst may have been at least partially responsible for the Spanish-American War. When the artist he sent to Cuba asked to return since there was no war, Hearst replied, "You furnish the pictures



and I'll furnish the war." His sensational and vitriolic journalism was also widely blamed for the assassination of President McKinley by an anarchist.

But when Hearst fought the power of the wealthy, he did it with wealth of his own. Hearst may be the first genuinely rich man to run for President. Like Nelson Rockefeller, he wasn't just wealthy; he had a great fortune at his disposal.

When a candidate has the personal resources to set up newspapers in several cities just to advance his political career, it is safe to assume that there was adequate funding in the campaign budget for small expenses like buttons.

Hearst ran for office several times – for Congress, Mayor of New York City, Governor of New York State and President of the United States – and left a handsome trail of buttons behind him. Just as Nelson Rockefeller's wealth saw to it that Rockefeller buttons would be well made and plentiful, so William Randolph Hearst left a rich legacy of Political Americana. As is so often the case, the buttons lay out the story of this remarkable presidential hopeful. This is one reason Hearst is fun to collect. He spans an interesting time – from the era of McKinley, TR and Bryan, all the way to FDR – and provides a diverse range of material, some common and some rare, that a collector can start to collect and constantly upgrade.

Newspaper-related Hearst items alone make for a great sideline. The 1 1/4" button with the watchful eye and the words "Hearst's [eye] Watches the People's Interests" likely refers to one of his newspapers' civic crusades. At the tail end of his career, when the once-progressive publisher had turned into a reactionary, leftwing labor unions put out plenty of pins attacking Hearst as anti-labor. That makes the pro-labor but-

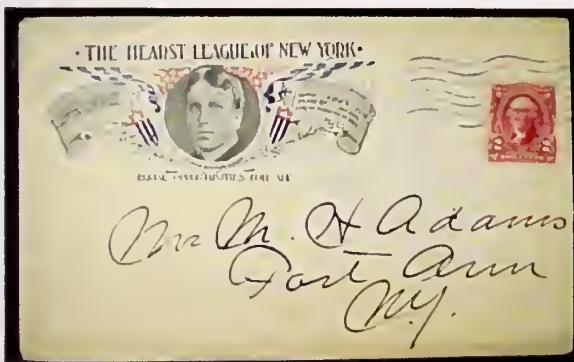


Ribbon on the right shown reduced.

ton (likely from 1902) that simply reads "Labor/Hearst" especially fun.

To be taken seriously in politics, Hearst had to get past merely being a big donor. He needed a power base. In 1900, he was elected President of the National Association of Democratic Clubs [for more on the NADC, see the Winter 2003 Keynoter]. Hearst's money and staff quickly revitalized the NADC, giving him a national profile. His next step was to win a seat in Congress in 1902 in an uneasy alliance with the





William Randolph Hearst probably received the most votes when he ran for Mayor of New York City but when Tammany Hall finished counting the votes, the Tammany candidate had won.

Tammany Hall machine.

A handsome 1 1/4" button exists reading "For Congress William Randolph Hearst" as well as a similar button that replaced "For Congress" with "Our Friend."

Although he had the worst voting record in Congress, Congressman Hearst became good friends with a group of young mavericks that included such future leaders as Champ Clark and John Nance Garner. Having won a seat in Congress, the next logical step (at least if you are William Randolph Hearst) is to run for President. With plenty of money and publicity, Hearst for President clubs began to organize around the country.

The 1904 Democratic presidential nomination was wide open. Having lost twice with Bryan and his progressive agenda, conservative Democrats of the Grover Cleveland stripe wanted to take their party back. Unfortunately, Bryan had so dominated the party – and Republican President Theodore Roosevelt was so popular – that few major Democrats were willing to run. The conservatives had to put forward an obscure state judge from New York, Alton B. Parker, for president. With Bryan off the board for now, Hearst jumped in the race as the progressive candidate.

The party machine disdained the flamboyant publisher but he had some genuine grassroots support plus the best delegates money could buy. He showed up at the convention with wide support. Clarence Darrow seconded his nomination and delegates marched with Hearst banners in a demonstration that lasted more than a half hour. It was a battle between Parker and Hearst. He won 194 votes on the first ballot and rose as high as 263 votes but the conservatives were to dominate and Parker took the nomination.

Hearst went back to running his newspapers and won an easy re-election to Congress in November while Parker was losing in a landslide. But the alliance between Hearst and Tammany Hall couldn't last. Tammany had opposed Hearst's presidential hopes and the publisher couldn't keep quiet about Tammany's looting of the city. In 1905, Hearst ran for Mayor of New York as an independent against Tammany Democrat Mayor George McClellan, Jr. (son of the Civil War general who ran against Lincoln in 1864) and Republican William Ivins.

It was a boisterous campaign and Hearst probably won the actual votes cast but – as had been the case with



Hearst's 1906 race for governor was a fierce contest and produced lots of nice items, including jugate buttons featuring Hearst with Lieutenant Governor candidate Lewis S. Chanler.



This postcard (shown reduced) blames the death of McKinley on Hearst.

Tammany Hall before – he didn't win the vote count. The official tally was 228,397 for McClellan, 224,925 for Hearst and 137,193 for Ivins.

"We have won the election," stated an angry Hearst, "All Tammany's friends, all Tammany's corruption, all Tammany's intimidation and violence, all Tammany's false registration, illegal voting and dishonest count have not been able to overcome a great popular majority." But that is, in fact, what happened.

His next move was to jump into the 1906 race for Governor of New York. The public and even the politicians were impressed with his city vote, won without a party behind him, and the probability that his victory had been stolen. He planned to run for governor as an independent but the Democratic machine decided that it would be better to come to terms and offered Hearst their nomination. Panicked at the prospect of the radical Hearst as governor, the Republicans recruited the only man who could stop him, Charles Evans Hughes [see Spring 1988 Keynoter].

It was a brutal campaign with high emotions and fierce attacks on all sides. The decisive moment may have been when President Theodore Roosevelt (himself a former governor of New York) sent Secretary of War Elihu Root into the state to oppose Hearst. Reminding voters of the old charge that Hearst's sensational journalism had sparked President McKinley's assassination, Root cited TR's criticism of "the exploiter of sensationalism" and proclaimed,







The fact that both Hearst and Hughes had names with the same first initial was a source of some fun during the campaign. These postcards align Hearst with Heaven and Hughes with Hell or the opposite, depending on the political principles of the sender.







Hearst started as a progressive with strong labor support, but ended up as a reactionary hated by many unions.



"I say, by the President's authority, that in penning these words, with the horror of President McKinley's murder fresh before him, he had Mr. Hearst specifically in mind. And I say, by his authority, that what he thought of Mr. Hearst then he thinks of Mr. Hearst now."

It was a devastating attack but just barely worked. Hughes won by only 58,000 votes out of over one and a half million cast. It was only the betrayal of the Tammany machine on Election Day, delivering far fewer votes than expected, that defeated William Randolph Hearst.

The 1906 Hearst vs. Hughes campaign produced a wealth of buttons and ribbons. Postcards show Hearst and Hughes aligned with Heaven and Hell (in both versions). There are several handsome Hearst buttons from 1906 that are not hard for a beginning collector to find at a reasonable price while other handsome Hearst items can range from common to very rare. The abundance and diversity of Hearst material makes it a fun place for a new collector to explore, opening the door to the delightful realm of collecting presidential hopefuls.

William Randolph Hearst never ran for public office again, although he remained an active force in politics. He created the Independence League that forwarded an independent ticket for president in 1908 with Thomas Hisgen and John Graves but little came of that. Hearst was a major figure in John Nance Garner's presidential bids in 1932 and 1940. Ever the maverick, Hearst broke with FDR over what he regarded as New Deal excesses and backed Alf Landon's GOP candidacy in 1936.

Hearst's lavish spending (on things like his famous San Simeon estate) eventually caught up with him and he lost control of his publishing empire. He was the model for Orson Welles' film masterpiece, "Citizen Kane" in 1941. Hearst died at the age of 88 in 1951 but the Hearst name still remains a force in publishing today.



Stamps on the bottom row are shown enlarged.



# A Woodrow Wilson Specialist.

**By Richard A. Cochran**

*Richard Cochran (APIC #14185) served as a village trustee from Illinois for ten years, now lives in Dallas, Texas with his wife, Christine. He holds a BA in Economics from Northern Illinois University. Richard collects presidential inaugural buttons and works for a major insurance company.*

Although collectors of Political Americana share many common interests, each of us came to our enthusiasm in our own way. For Anthony Atkiss (APIC #2215), it was in 1952 when he found a "Veterans for Ike" button in a gutter while walking home from junior high school. That button sparked his interest in collecting political items and, although tattered and foxed, that button still is party of Tony's collection today.

After 52 years of collecting, Atkiss has built one of the finest collections of rare Woodrow Wilson presidential campaign memorabilia in the world. In fact, many of his Wilson items will be featured this fall in a special exhibit at the Woodrow Wilson Home located at 2340 S Street NW, Washington D.C. 20008. The Woodrow Wilson house was purchased in 1921 to be used a residence after Wilson's second Presidential term expired.

After moving into the home on his successor's inauguration day, Wilson only lived in the house for three year's until he succumbed to his illness and passed away. His second wife, Edith Wilson, continued to live in the house until her passing many years later. The Atkiss exhibit will run from October 5, 2004 through February 15th, 2005.

Meeting Tony, one doesn't think of an executive who retired from Exxon after 39 years of service, who is married, a father of four children, or a Princeton University graduate. Rather, his genuine smile, knowledge of his items, and passion for his collection catches you and help ignite a desire to build as nice of collection with pride and pursuit as Tony has. He credits his interest in Wilson to his years as a Princeton student because Woodrow Wilson had been president of Princeton University before he went on to become President of the United States.

Atkiss has lived in various places (including as New Jersey, New York City, San Francisco and Houston) before moving to Dallas fourteen years ago. Wherever he has resided, his search for Wilson items continued. Being connected to the network of political item collectors based around the APIC, Tony continues to build his collection by regularly attending APIC shows, reviewing auction lists and buying or trading from fellow collectors. He is constantly looking for something he doesn't have, using the Hake books as a guide. There is a particular item on the top of his list of Wilson buttons he is looking for; a button featuring Wilson in a rowboat with the caption, "WoodRow Wilson." Tony has a postcard with this theme, but would like to find the button to add to his collection. Asking Tony what he







The button above with Wilson and his second wife is 3 3/8"

considers his most treasured item, he responded by showing me a 21" red, white, and blue rattle horn, which he recently acquired by auction. It has pictures of Wilson and Vice-President Marshall on an upper flag.

A 9" Wilson souvenir button of Washington D.C. (pictured with this article) is among one of his collection favorites. The button is not only large but colorful, featuring Wilson's first wife and three daughters along with photos of the Capitol, White House, and Library of Congress. Finding political items featuring Wilson's daughters was a rarity as Wilson worked hard to keep his daughters out of the political eye. As Wilson's first wife died in 1914, this button can be dated somewhere between 1912 and 1914.

Another of Tony Atkiss' favorites is a 1913 Inaugural button featuring Wilson as a young man in a bow tie, with a mug attached. The caption on the mug reads, "It's a Long Time Between Drinks." This referred to the fact that it had



been many years since the Democrats won the Presidency. One of my favorites after seeing his collection was a large white and sepia toned button-featuring Wilson in Top Hat and Coattails, with his second wife. This is truly a stunning piece.

Political campaign buttons are not the only treasures in his 450-piece Wilson collection. He owns over 100 books about Woodrow Wilson including ones written by Sigmund Freud, Herbert Hoover and economist John Maynard Keynes. He has pennants, posters, and postcards, and items from other presidents as well.

The enthusiasm of the specialist, who focuses attention on a particular candidate, party or issue, builds valuable historical resources for academics, historians and collectors. It also keeps memories alive and, in the final analysis, is a lot of fun.

# The First Reagan Victory: 1966

By Paul Rozycki

Paul Rozycki (APIC #11384) is a Professor of Political Science at Mott Community College in Michigan. He earned his BA from Northern Illinois University and his MA from Indiana University.



**TORRANCE**  
YOUTH FOR REAGAN



This rare 6" button is shown reduced.

Sometimes the experts and the pundits can be very wrong. In 1964, after Lyndon Johnson crushed Barry Goldwater, many said that conservatism was dead and gone and Johnson's "Great Society" and its liberal, active government were the wave of the future. Many commentators saw the Goldwater defeat as the end of the conservative movement in the United States. Yet, hidden in that defeat, people and events were in play that would bring conservatives to the forefront of American politics and find most candidates going to great lengths to deny they were 'liberals.'

The person who led the resurrection of the conservative movement was Ronald Reagan. The key events propelling him to victory included the Watts riots, the Berkeley student Free Speech movement, civil rights conflicts and the Vietnam war protests. The major election was not the election of 1980, when Reagan defeated Jimmy Carter for the White House, but rather Reagan's first run for public office when he defeated Edmund "Pat" Brown and was elected governor of California in 1966. The story of that election is more than the story of just one candidate in one state. It is the story of a sea change in American politics that still holds sway. It is a story well told in the recent book, *The Right Moment* by Matthew Dallek (Free Press, 2000).

Edmund "Pat" Brown began his career as a Coolidge Republican in 1928, with an ill-fated campaign for the California state assembly. Brown lost badly and the Great Depression soon shifted his political loyalties to the Democratic Party. Though active in public affairs, it wasn't until 1939 that Brown would again attempt a campaign for public office. This time he ran for San Francisco District Attorney and again fell short. On his next attempt a few years later, he won and moved to reform the DA's office. In 1946 he ran for California Attorney General and lost, only to win the position in 1950. He was the only Democrat to win statewide office at that time and soon emerged as the most plausible Democrat to head the California ticket for governor in 1958.

Though Democrats had little success in filling the governor's chair in the previous fifty years, a convoluted series of events played into Brown's hands. Incumbent Republican Governor Goodwin Knight, who seemed to stand a good chance of reelection, was elbowed aside by California's senior senator, William F. Knowland, who chose to leave the U.S. Senate and return to California to run for governor. A strong anticommunist conservative, Knowland was minority leader in the Senate. Some suggested that he was making the move to prepare the way for a presidential run.

Brown took advantage of the turmoil within the Republican Party, painting himself as a moderate Democrat and portraying Knowland as a right wing fanatic. It worked. Brown won the election with a million vote margin over one of the strongest Republican leaders of the time.

In 1962 Brown again faced a major national figure, Richard Nixon, who of course had lost the presidency narrowly to John Kennedy in 1960. As he had done with Knowland, Brown was able to portray Nixon as a right wing anti-communist who was out of touch with his state and simply using the governorship as a stepping-stone to another run at the White House. Again it worked. Nixon lost and gave his famous "You won't have Nixon to kick around anymore" speech as he denounced the press the day after the elec-





*We would like to welcome our newest members to the American Political Items Collectors. Please be sure to introduce yourself if you see them at a show.*

*Brian Krapp,  
President*

#### January, 2004

Berns, Carol Cranford, NJ (#15332)  
Bock, Perry New Ulm, MN (#15328)  
Brandt, Ronald Park Ridge, IL (#15343)  
Brooks, Dennis Cockeysville, MD (#15344)  
Brown, Howard Saxe, NJ (#15329)  
Chasnoff, Allan Walnut Creek, CA (#15335)  
Consentino, Andrew Hamilton, NJ (#15308)  
Cool, Marty Chicago, IL (#15309)  
Croskey, Jamie Redford, MI (#15311)  
Davis, Susan Centerville, OH (#15337)  
Davis, Robert Minneapolis, MN (#15314)  
Delisio, Daniel Poland, OH (#15329)  
Elder, Charles Huntington Woods, MI (#15322)  
Ernge, David Linthicum, MD (#15331)  
Eminger, Randy Amarillo, TX (#15317)  
Ervin, Caroline Morganton, NC (#15312)  
Finlay, Mark Savannah, GA (#15326)  
Foster, SaraJane Washington, DC (#15327)  
Giatt, Larry Wauwatosa, WI (#15307)  
Green, Robert Conroe, TX (#15325)  
Heidennich, Lewis Coral Springs, FL (#15333)  
Hertlein, Debra Greensboro, NC (#15324)  
Historical Museum, Blaine County Hailey, ID (#15334)  
Hoe, Michael Delran, NJ (#15316)  
Huepfel, Matt Spring Valley, WI (#15341)  
Kannensohn, Michael Lexington, KY (#15319)  
Kiloran, Amy Atlanta, GA (#15340)  
Leahy, William Los Angeles, CA (#15345)  
Leipziger, David Middletown, CT (#15336)  
Lowry, Mike APO, AE (#15339)  
Massa, Leonard Raymond, IL (#15342)  
Mohr, Rick Sinking Spring, PA (#15310)  
Olson, Larry Kelseyville, CA (#15321)  
Palan, J. Richmond, VA (#15330)  
Parsons, Milton Virginia Beach, VA (#15346)  
Payne, David New Albany, OH (#15308)  
Peters, Jonathan Newark, DE (#15313)  
Richey, Rita Huntington Woods, MI (#15323)  
Rife, Deborah Cedar Rapids, IA (#15338)  
Rogers Gormley, James Lexington, KY (#15307)  
Tilling, John Merced, CA (#15353)  
Timms, Gary Lebanon, OR (#15305)  
Tobiasson, Michael Parker, CO (#15315)  
Wilson, Deborah Ambler, PA (#15318)

#### February, 2004

Allen, Patrick Wynanskill, NY (#12909)  
Apple, Eric Niles, OH (#15352)  
Cohen, Sherman Silver Spring, MD (#15369)  
Davis, Kathryn Santa Rosa, CA (#15358)  
Domingue, Michael Franklin, LA (#15361)  
Eck, Dave Virginia Beach, VA (#15368)  
Gately, Jim Mays Landing, NJ (#15350)  
Goodwin, W Mansfield, CT (#15359)  
Kallen, Arthur Arlington, VA (#15367)  
Mahoney, Timothy Winooski, VT (#15357)  
Mathis, Robert Nagadoches, TX (#15349)  
McCleary, Paul Lebanon, IL (#15354)  
Nelles, William Batavia, IL (#11701)  
Patterson, Frank Lanett, AL (#15360)  
Pearson, Mark Milwaukee, WI (#15353)  
Putman, Robert Burke, VA (#15365)  
Rodgers, Michelle Cartersville, GA (#15364)  
Ross, Jean Vienna, VA (#15355)  
Sferazza, Carl Los Angeles, CA (#15366)  
Sigbsby, Kevin Richmond, KY (#15362)  
Stiles, Richard Yakima, WA (#15348)  
Tambor, Milton Dunwoody, GA (#15351)  
Teddman, Alan Boone, NC (#15363)  
Wieder, John Montrose, CO (#15347)  
Young, Sharon Smithville, MO (#15356)

#### March, 2004

Bozada-Deas, Suzel Healdsburg, CA (#15379)  
Costello, Robert Milwaukee, WI (#15370)  
Fryer, Todd Chicago, IL (#15378)  
Gunning, Michael Cape Girardeau, MO (#1537)  
Heinz, Larry Cassadaga, FL (#15380)  
Kineen, James Omaha, NE (#15376)  
Koehn, Andrew Trumbull, CT (#15377)  
Mills, Mark Arroyo Grande, CA (#15371)  
Sellards, Michael Huntington, WV (#15372)  
Sprott, Rick Kaysville, UT (#15374)  
Willhita, Dale Sherrard, IL (#15377)

#### April, 2004

Acker, G Flagstaff, AZ (#15408)  
Allensworth, Annice Bowling Green, MO (#15399)  
Antonik, George New Martinsville, WV (#15404)  
Baer, Howard Haymarket, VA (#15403)  
Baer, F San Antonio, TX (#15361)  
Barg, Gordon Rockville, MD (#15411)  
Buckley, Michael Battle Creek, MI (#15406)  
Cooney, Robert Santa Cruz, CA (#15400)  
Dahl, Daniel Clifton, NJ (#15387)  
Devlin, Mary Williamsburg, VA (#15416)  
Edgell, John Washington, DC (#15388)  
Fazzino, Gary Palo Alto, CA (#15382)  
Godfrey, Robert Greensboro, NC (#15383)  
Green, Scott Wilmington, DE (#15384)  
Hong, Gary Silver Spring, MD (#15410)  
Joseph, Clarence Bear, DE (#3100)  
Jr, Barry J. Wilmington, DE (#15419)  
Landis, Timothy Arlington, VA (#15397)  
Linge, Carl Evansville, IN (#15389)  
Lipson, Kevin Potomac, MD (#15396)  
McCormick, David Lake Waccamaw, NC (#15402)  
McKnight, Robert Overland Park, KS (#15407)  
Miller, Walter SYRACUSE, NY (#15415)  
Olmsted, Gina Rockford, IL (#15385)  
Olmsted, Brian Rockford, IL (#15386)  
Palla, David East Hartford, CT (#15409)  
Parnell, Marc El Dorado, AR (#15418)  
Petigone, Peter Milford, NH (#3972)  
Powers, Timothy POTOMAC FALLS, VA (#15395)  
Ruhstaller, Edward Stockton, CA (#15393)  
Shaaffer, John Fremont, CA (#15405)  
Sherman, Paul Washington, DC (#15392)  
Shoemaker, Irvin Berlin, NJ (#15412)  
Sina, Art Boynton Beach, FL (#15391)  
Stanley, Anthony Troy, MI (#15413)  
Stewart, John Albuquerque, NM (#15417)  
Taylor, Zachary Pewaukee, WI (#15414)  
Trimble, Benjamin Austin, TX (#15420)  
Wacaster, William Little Rock, AR (#15390)  
Willing, Paul Beloit, WI (#15401)  
Young, William Longmeadow, MA (#15398)  
Zapolski, Todd Durham, NC (#15394)

#### May, 2004

Benke, Tom JEFFERSON CITY, MO (#15430)  
Campbell, James Buffalo, NY (#15428)  
Cartar, Charles Elkhart, IN (#15421)  
Crum, Janet Tausville, NJ (#15424)  
Evans, David Ewing, NJ (#15426)  
Galindo, Federico Vienna, VA (#15429)  
Gzym, Dustin Indianapolis, IN (#15422)  
Kaplan, Judith Matland, FL (#15425)  
Killian, J Havertown, PA (#15423)  
Morys, Joe Des Plaines, IA (#1222)  
Stein, Sanford Toledo, OH (#15427)

#### June, 2004

Ashby, Johnny Louisville, KY (#8837)  
Egelhoff, Larry Indianapolis, IN (#15440)  
Evans, Hilde W Lafayette, IN (#15433)  
Flynn, Patrick West Chester, PA (#15442)  
Johnson, Nina North Rose, NY (#15441)  
Kostloff, Ken Oakland, CA (#15434)  
Lowe, Ralph Holland, NY (#15438)  
Pyken, Matthew Los Angeles, CA (#15432)  
Rogers, James Waco, TX (#15431)  
Schultz, Steven San Antonio, TX (#15443)  
Shook, Norms Orleans, MA (#15436)  
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tion, apparently to leave the national stage forever. Brown's victories over both Knowland and Nixon earned him the title of "The Giant Killer" and he seemed destined to dominate California politics for years to come.

The story of Ronald Reagan's Hollywood career and move to politics is well documented and has been often told. Beginning as an ardent New Deal Democrat, Reagan found success in Hollywood in the 1930s and 1940s. While perhaps not a "superstar" of the era, he certainly carved out a successful career as a leading man or at least "best friend" to many leading movie stars. As his movie career began to fade, Reagan became more active in the Screen Actors Guild and rose to the presidency of the union. Reagan was still a Democrat by the late 1940s and even did some radio ads for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. But the Cold War and worries about communist influence in Hollywood labor unions in the late 1940s shifted Ronald Reagan's politics in a more conservative direction.

In the 1950s he emerged as an articulate advocate for free enterprise and became a spokesperson for General Electric. It gave him a chance to remain in the public eye and allowed

him to hone his skills in a different forum. Though still a registered Democrat as late as 1960, Reagan supported Richard Nixon over John Kennedy that year. By 1962, he formally changed his registration from Democrat to Republican and campaigned for Nixon against Pat Brown. As Reagan became a conservative spokesman, he was dropped by General Electric for fear that he was "too controversial." Yet, his popularity grew on the lecture circuit and some conservative Republicans began to press Reagan to run for public office. To his opponents, he was characterized as one more voice of the "far right" in California.

In 1964 he campaigned long and hard for Barry Goldwater's losing campaign, condemning Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs as socialistic and urging a harder anti-communist line in foreign affairs. Reagan's emergence on the national political stage is usually dated from "the speech" he gave on national television supporting Goldwater on October 27, 1964. The speech was a huge success and many volunteers responded with time and money in the last days of the Goldwater campaign. The national media began to pay attention to Reagan as a new Republican voice. With Goldwater's crushing defeat, Reagan emerged as a natural successor on the Republican right.

Articulate though he was, Reagan might have remained a marginal spokesperson for the right wing of the party except for three things. First, he wasn't Barry Goldwater. Reagan was a far more genial, "sunnier," and TV-savvy personality than Goldwater. Second, a series of issues and events moved the





### • The First Reagan Button

The tiny 13/16" litho pictured enlarged here is surely the first Ronald Reagan button. It is part of a set of movie stars from the Warner Brothers studio issued in the Forties.



### • The Last Reagan Button

This is likely the last legitimate Ronald Reagan button issued during his life. The 3" celluloid was issued for the dedication ceremony for the U.S.S. Ronald Reagan, a modern aircraft carrier commissioned in 2003.

"center" in his direction and splintered the California Democrats and third, his opponents underestimated him.

By the mid 1960s California, like the rest of the nation was in the midst of the struggle for civil rights. Governor Brown, now in his second term, supported an open housing law that barred racial discrimination in nearly all sales and rentals of housing. Infused with the moral fervor of the early days of the civil right movement, the measure passed the state legislature and became law. However the backlash was immediate, as a variety of groups including the real estate industry, put Proposition 14 on the ballot to repeal the law. On November 3, 1964 -- the same day voters reelected Lyndon Johnson by a huge margin -- the voters of California passed Proposition 14 and repealed the open housing law by a 2-1 margin, a sign of how much Brown had misread the electorate on the issue.

In August 1965, while Brown was out of the country, the Watts ghetto in Los Angeles exploded in the first major race riot of the decade. After all his support of civil rights activities, Brown was shocked by the racial strife in California. While Brown acted, sometimes uncertainly, to quell the riots, many saw him as out of touch with the crisis and not supportive of the LA police and their hardline chief, William Parker. Brown's response to the riots put the governor and Los Angeles Democratic Mayor Sam Yorty on opposite sides of the fence in dealing with the crisis.

In a similar vein, the Berkeley campus erupted in a series of protests in late 1964. As the students grew more and more disruptive, Brown was again seen as too weak and too vacillating. Students tested the outer limits of free speech and dissent while Brown was blamed for not "dealing with the problem." A few years later the anti-Vietnam war protests disrupted the campuses and, though Brown was a nominal supporter of the war, his "liberal" policies were seen as fueling the dissent and conflict.

All these events weakened Brown's appeal as he looked forward to a third term. More importantly however, they divided the California Democratic party, black against white and working class against upper middle class students. Those divisions set the stage for the election year that was to follow.

The Democratic primary was to be no cakewalk for Brown. He was opposed on both the left and the right. On the left there was some support for Republican Senator Tom Kuchel and many liberal Democrats felt Brown was on the wrong side of the Vietnam war and failed to support the Berkeley students. However the strongest challenge would come from the conservative Mayor of Los Angeles, Sam Yorty. Yorty hammered away at Brown, blaming him for being too soft on the rioters in Watts, too liberal on civil rights and too easy on the student protestors at Berkeley. Brown dismissed Yorty as simply a right-wing fringe candidate.

*Continues on page 36*

# The 'Vision Thing' –

## The case of Goldwater's glasses

*By Dr. Sidney Brown*

*Dr. Sidney Brown (APIC #11625) is a professor who lives, teaches and writes in York, England.*



This 4" button shown reduced.

Some forty years ago a rather anxious Brit on his first visit to the USA sat on the dry grass at the University of Maryland. The rather lovely 'preppie' young woman who was also to start teaching that semester kindly re-assured him. Although she knew he was, inevitably, a 'monarchist' at heart, she had a little button gift for him. It was a cute Republican elephant wearing massive glasses. In 2004, the 'limey' professor nearing retirement has, sadly, lost touch with his fellow graduate assistant but the original item was to mark the start of his fascination with American political buttons which has led to a thousand strong collection, each item in which has made the long journey across the Atlantic.

Whether my now-sixty year-old 'gal for Goldwater' has remained in the same pristine condition in which my beloved bespectacled elephant has I know not. Undoubtedly Senator Barry AuH<sub>2</sub>O has tarnished a little if his cursory treatment in most current textbooks is anything to go by. Yet I've a sneaking feeling that he's left a vision in the last forty years.

Political friends and foes alike seem to agree that Barry Goldwater was a fundamentally decent man. He started his political career in 1949 with his appointment to Phoenix City Council in his beloved Arizona. In 1952 he was elected to the Senate, becoming a leading spokesman for the right wing of his party although he seems to have had little to do with another prominent conservative Republican senator called Joe McCarthy. In 1960 he made an over-optimistic bid for the Republican presidential nomination ultimately secured by Richard Nixon.

Occasional articles on Goldwater have appeared in the hobby's publications. A doyen of our pastime, Ted Hake, has noted that Goldwater campaign items yield a fascinating and reasonably priced array of unusual examples. The possibilities range from Goldwater's name expressed by chemical symbols or simply a gold button with H<sub>2</sub>O on it; a small bubble containing fake gold dust, soda cans promising "Gold Water" inside, buttons with slogans such as 'Ask me why I'm for Barry' and, of course, that wonderful bespectacled elephant! It is suggested that the creature may well have had an eye to the future and, although it might have seemed short-sighted in the short term, could have been blessed with remarkable long-term vision.

When Goldwater secured his Party's 1964 nomination over such challengers as Nelson Rockefeller and Bill Scranton (by offering 'a choice not an echo'), there were few who could have realized that JFK's clarion call promising that the United States 'would pay any price in the defense of liberty' would eventually lead to the Vietnam nightmare.

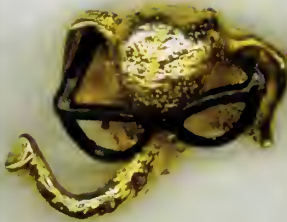




This 1 1/2" post-election button appeared in late 1964 as a gesture of defiance. Shown reduced.



This senatorial button from 1980 didn't even need to say Goldwater



The lapel pins are above shown enlarged.

Goldwater's simplistic, confrontational approach to the problem was to spawn a number of alarmist Democratic buttons such as 'In your guts you know he's nuts' as well as a famously frightening television commercial featuring a nuclear explosion. Yet Reagan's characterization of the Soviet Union as 'an evil empire' as well as his jocular aside about bombing Russia has the ring of Goldwater about it. Similarly the present 'War on Terrorism' employs much of the same phraseology and moralization. Goldwater slogans such as 'Extremism in the Defense of Liberty is No Vice,' 'What's Wrong with being Right?' and the much lampooned 'In Your Heart You know He's Right' would, perhaps, not be seen as out of place in the 2004 campaign of George W. Bush.

Pro- and anti-Goldwater items from the 1964 campaign make for an interesting selection. Of the latter, one depicted a hydrogen bomb exploding with the caption 'Let's Go with

Goldwater' as well as the rather cleverly phrased 'My only Vice is Moderation' as a counter to the famous 'Extremism in the Defense of Liberty is no Vice...Moderation in the Pursuit of Liberty is no Virtue.' A most cryptic 'Look Ahead with Goldwater' button has perhaps, special relevance in this article. The call for 'victory over Communism' on one Goldwater button could easily be transformed into the equally zealous blanket call for 'Victory over Terrorism' forty years on.

It is worth discussing the fortunes of Goldwaterism over the last four decades. Politics, optical styles and the price of buttons have all changed but a glance at materials used in the campaigns of Goldwater, Reagan and the two Presidents Bush reveals some constant threads of conservatism with vintage Goldwater wording. It would not be too much to claim that Goldwater was to lay the foundations for considerable GOP success since 1964. Those Goldwater glasses may actually have been peering into the future.

Ronald Reagan made his first significant political speech on Goldwater's behalf during the 1964 campaign. The rest is history.

A well written piece of Republican credo runs as follows:

"This country has grown great and strong and prosperous by placing major reliance on a free economy. What we have we owe to the ceaseless strivings of tens of millions of free men to better their own condition and to provide a better future for their children and their children's children...This system is the mighty engine of progress which enabled this country to become a multitude spanning the continent and living on a level that is the envy of the world."

It is suggested that such a statement could be linked equally to Reagan or to either of the Presidents Bush. It was, in fact, a quotation from Barry Goldwater's opening campaign speech on 3 September 1964 but to many American in 2004 it still has more than a ring of truth. Perhaps that's why Goldwater's 1980 memoir was entitled *With No Apologies*.

So, in conclusion, on the fortieth anniversary of the 1964 campaign, I offer my thanks to my former fellow graduate assistant, an American beauty who gave me my first ever political button to steady my nerves, unknowingly start me on a delightful hobby.

# The IYHYKHR Buttons

(In Your Heart You  
Know He's Right)

By Paul Rozycki



Political parties in the United States are uneasy marriages of diverse groups--moderates and conservatives, liberals and centrists, blacks and whites, northerners and southerners, Wall Street and Main Street. When victory is won, the various groups can work together and rally around a strong leader. When victory is lost and a leader is gone, parties can break down into squabbling factions as they seek new direction.

Such was the case of the Republicans as they approached the 1964 election. Richard Nixon had lost a razor thin election to Kennedy in 1960 and then held his famous "last press conference" when he failed to win the California governorship against Pat Brown in 1962. Arizona Senator Barry Goldwater, who had emerged as the leading light of the Republican right with his best selling *Conscience of a Conservative*, was a strong contender for the 1964 Republican presidential nomination. To win, he had to challenge the moderate, eastern wing of his party. During the primary season Goldwater defeated New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller in several brutal contests that culminated with Rockefeller being booed at the San Francisco Republican convention that summer. Pennsylvania Governor William Scranton also made a late, unsuccessful effort to stop the Goldwater bandwagon.

As principled conservative, Goldwater had planned on a classic confrontation with John F. Kennedy. The assassination changed all that. Whether the campaign of 1964 would have been dramatically different if Kennedy had lived is pure speculation. As it turned out, the campaign against Lyndon Johnson was less a principled liberal-conservative contest than a contest of slogans and clever commercials. The Johnson "Daisy Girl" TV spot, which portrayed Goldwater incinerating the world in a nuclear holocaust is still ranked as a "classic" negative TV spot. For his part, Goldwater promised "A Choice not an Echo" as he rallied the conservative Republicans to his cause. When he accepted the nomination, Goldwater energized party conservatives and frightened moderates by saying "I would remind you, that extremism in defense of liberty is no vice. And let me remind you also, that moderation in the pursuit of justice is no virtue."

In the 1964 battle perhaps the most important slogan and most memorable button was "In Your Heart You Know He's Right." It appeared on countless buttons, often with Barry Goldwater in the center of a heart. The phrase became so common that some buttons could communicate their message with only the first letter of each word-- IYHYKHR. (Indeed, even Goldwater's name came to be reduced to symbols--AuH20). Some buttons used the phrase "In My Heart I Know He's Right" without a photo of Goldwater and everyone knew who they were talking about.





Even the charge that Goldwater was an extremist sparked a response on the "I'm Extremely Fond of Barry" button.

In the heat of the 1964 contest, Democrats were not about to leave a slogan untouched. Buttons (and billboards) appeared with the phrase "In Your Guts You Know He's Nuts" or "In Your Heart You Know He's Right...Far Right." The suggestion that Goldwater might use the atomic bomb inspired a button that read, "In Your Heart You Know He Might."

In the end, the Johnson landslide of 1964 was more a

result of the lingering sympathy for John Kennedy, LBJ's legislative success with Congress and the deeply divided Republican Party than any particular slogan, but few elections have produced so many memorable phrases on buttons, banners and billboards.

## Collecting History

# Button Sets

**By Robert Fratkin**

*Robert Fratkin (APIC#793) served as president of the APIC from 1987 to 1993 and is a former editor of and frequent contributor to The Keynoter. Fratkin lives in District of Columbia where he is a stockbroker and portfolio manager. His eclectic collecting interests take him across the country and across the ocean, as his keen interest in British history has led him to collect Boer War, Queen Victoria and King Edward VII material.*

Soon after I started collecting, I became fascinated that different candidates had buttons with the same background designs, and like many other collectors, I actively sought to "match up" my buttons. Sometimes, the background color was different, as with the gold and silver colors of McKinley and Bryan buttons, but many times only the candidate pictures were different. This was particularly true of the 1900-16 period. Yet with all these designs being used by the two major parties, very few of the minor party candidates used these same designs for their own buttons. Although there are several times in which the same design is used for three parties, as far as I can determine there are only two campaigns in which candidate jugates from four different parties appeared in the same background design, 1900 and 1912. I think it is surprising that it didn't happen more often.

Sometimes, the known existence of one major party button in a design that has been used before makes you wonder whether the same design wasn't also made for the opposing candidates. For example, the 7/8" Smith-Robinson ribbon jugate, with both gold and white backgrounds, a design originally used in 1900, would seem likely to exist in Hoover-Curtis, but it has never been found. And speaking of Hoover-Curtis, why is there a celluloid jugate lapel bar for the Republican candidates and Hoover and Smith bars with only a single picture and name? Is that all they made? Where is the Smith-Robinson jugate bar? I am sure you can think of other examples.

Prior to World War II, the button manufacturers employed traveling salesmen and sent samples to party leaders and stamp & seal companies all around the country. Years ago, I corresponded with a collector who sent me a Xerox photo of several buttons Whitehead and Hoag sent to his grandfather, the Chairman of the Massachusetts Republican Party, on speculation. The buttons were 7/8" picture buttons of Coolidge, all with





1904 TR

1900 Bryan / Stevenson



1924 Davis



1924 Davis



Among the five pictured varieties of the 7/8" eagle jugates, the first four are from 1912 but the last is from 1916. The 1916 Wilson/Marshall jugate is very rare (note the older picture of Marshall, not known on any other button), as is its Hughes/Fairbanks counterpart.

This set of jugates from 1900 shows four national tickets with the same design. From top to bottom; Republicans McKinley and Roosevelt, Democrats Bryan and Stevenson, Socialists Debs and Harriman, and Prohibitionists Wooley and Metcalf.

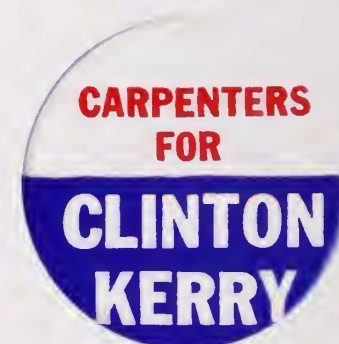
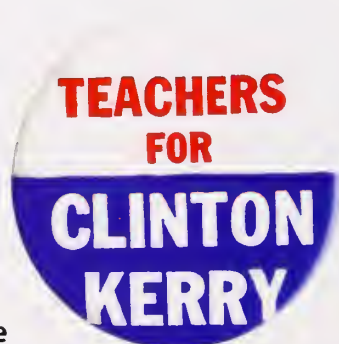
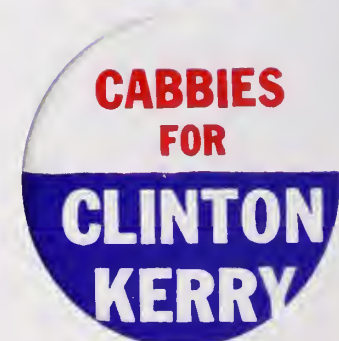
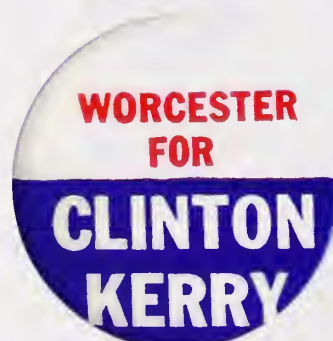
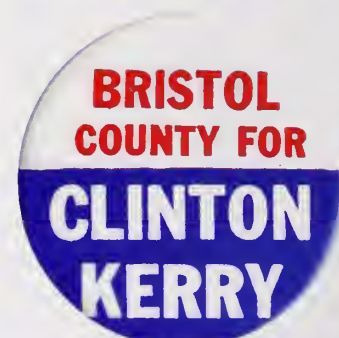
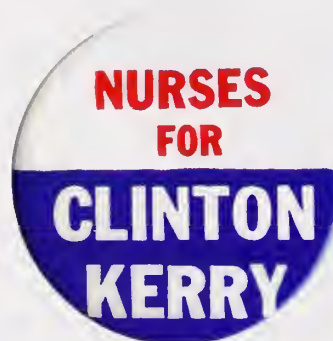
the gold background designs used in the 1900 McKinley campaign. Other than that picture, I have never seen any of these buttons in the hobby. In an auction in 1981, a 1 1/4" Davis button from the 1924 campaign was sold with the same outer design as McKinley and Bryan design from 1900. A second Davis button 3/4" using a 1904 design appears in the first Hake book. Since these were the only 1924 ones of these designs commonly known in the hobby, they probably were also manufactured as samples to entice orders - but what keeps us looking is that they didn't make only one of each. The 1904 TR wishbone design was ordered and distributed as a 1924 Davis picture pin and appears occasionally in hobby auctions.

One of the positive aspects of eBay is that we are seeing many items that weren't previously known to exist, or where previously only one or two were known in the hobby. Whether you participate in the hobby's major mail auctions or not, subscribing to the catalogues can be worthwhile just for the education and the opportunity to see items you may never have seen before - or ever will again. I still look back at sales sheets from 30 years ago and realize that some of the pieces pictured there have never reappeared.

# Kerry locals

John Kerry entered national politics as a young man, returning from service in Vietnam to become a highly visible opponent to the war. He was clearly aiming for a career in politics and almost immediately sought a seat in Congress. According to the *Boston Globe*, Kerry's early political career didn't immediately catch fire: "His ambition tempered only by political naivete, Kerry tried on congressional districts like suits off the rack. In less than two months in early 1972, the antiwar leader called three different districts in Massachusetts home. To this day, he bears the brand of opportunist from that brazen district-hopping, which he acknowledges as part of his political 'baggage.' " He actively ran for Congress in at least two districts in 1972 but did not win.

Ten years later, Kerry was elected Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts on a ticket with Michael Dukakis. The Dukakis/Kerry buttons from 1982 must be the first time two Democratic presidential nominees ran as a ticket for state office. In 1984, Kerry won the seat of retiring U.S. Senator Paul Tsongas (who would later give Bill Clinton a stiff fight for the 1992 presidential nomination). Kerry was the chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee from 1987 to 1989 and was reelected to the Senate in 1990, 1996 and 2002. [M.K.]







1972 race for Congress



1984 Senate race



1982 race for Lt. Governor



1990 Senate race

2002 Senate race

*Continued from page 27*

Though Brown won the nomination, Yorty took almost a million votes, a very surprising showing. The California Democratic Party was deeply fractured, as the national party would be just two years later. Most of the conservative Yorty supporters did not stick with the Democratic nominee but supported Reagan—the first of the “Reagan Democrats” that would be so critical to his White House bid in the 1980s. Many black voters, Hispanics and anti-war Democrats would simply stay home on election day.

For the Republicans, they also faced the potential for deep divisions, but the results were quite different. When Ronald Reagan announced his campaign for the nomination he was seen by many as a candidate of the far right, possibly with ties to the John Birch Society. The moderate ex-mayor of San Francisco George Christopher opposed him. For a time it seemed that Christopher might be the more likely nominee and the candidate who would do best against Governor Brown.

That is also what the Brown campaign thought. They expected that Reagan would be much easier to beat and this led them to get involved with the Republican primary in an attempt to defeat Christopher and aid Reagan. They resurrected an old story about Christopher’s 1940 conviction for violating state laws regulating the milk industry in California. Though prosecutors later exonerated Christopher, the memory of the criminal charges stuck with him. In an attempt to elect the weaker candidate, the Brown campaign floated the stories in the press again during the 1966 primaries. Whether due to the “Milk Scandal” or not, Reagan defeated Christopher easily, winning over three-quarters of the vote. But Brown’s involvement in the release of the old story caused a rift with Christopher that would not be healed during the election, effectively denying Brown possible support from Christopher.

Yet Ronald Reagan had his own problems. For much of the early 1960s he was seen by many as not only a conservative but also a man of the ‘far right’ and someone who couldn’t appeal to mainstream Republicans, independents or Democrats. How could he keep his support on the right, and not be seen as part of a marginal fringe movement? One big problem was the John Birch Society, an ardently anti-Communist organization that typified the worst of the “crackpot right” to many. While Reagan shared many of their attitudes about communism in general, he did not support their wilder ideas, such as the assertion that Dwight Eisenhower was a Communist. Reagan handled the situation deftly. While

offering his general support for the major thrust of anti-communism, he clearly distanced himself from the leader of the Birch Society, Robert Welch. It seemed to do the trick. Reagan kept the support of the right and yet was not seen as part of any lunatic fringe.

By the time the primaries were over in June, Reagan had emerged with the nomination in hand and a fairly unified party. Though Christopher did not formally endorse Reagan, many of his supporters did and Reagan promised to work as a team with the other statewide Republican nominees for the November election.

Yet for Brown the general election seemed like ‘délà vu all over again.’ He was facing a candidate whom he would characterize as a right-winger, a part of the Republican fringe, while he was a moderate who could appeal to both Democrats and liberal Republicans. It had worked with Knowland in 1958 and it had worked with Nixon in 1962.

But it wouldn’t work a third time in 1966. While Reagan was clearly a conservative, the issues that came to dominate California in the mid 1960s worked to his advantage: the Berkeley unrest, The Watts riots, civil rights divisions and Vietnam anti-war protests. The uneasiness over all of these moved the center of California politics in Reagan’s direction. Further, Reagan was much more difficult to demonize as a “right wing nut,” as Brown attempted in the last days of the campaign. Reagan kept the more polarizing figures of the Republican right out of his campaign. Barry Goldwater offered his support. Reagan thanked him and kept good ties with him, but did not invite him to join the campaign. Reagan’s ability with the media also made it difficult to demonize him. He seemed too likeable, too genial and too comfortable on television to be a spokesperson for a lunatic fringe group. The other charge that Brown used was that Reagan was just a “dumb actor.” Since California had just elected actor George Murphy to the Senate two years earlier that approach carried little weight. Further, Reagan made a point of getting away from his scripted text and taking questions from the audience with good success. Though, by his own admission, he wasn’t as versed on the minutia of government as Governor Brown, he handled himself well and did not seem like a “dumb actor” who was just reading lines from cue cards.

On November 8, 1966 Ronald Reagan won his first election by almost a million votes and carried 55 of California’s 58 counties. That election and the events that were part of it was the beginning of a dramatic decades-long change in American politics that continues today.



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# Events & Happenings

Photos from Hagerstown Super Regional show



← This image was on the I.D. Badges and displayed throughout the "Psychedelic '60s" exhibits and breakfast.

- 1- Collectors gather as another table opens on the bourse floor.
- 2- Members preview materials up for bid in the annual auction.
- 3- A full house awaits the start of bidding.
- 4- Tom Peeling and his son Tyler show off the latest addition to their "Smiley" collection.

- 5- The three biggest Wendell Willkie collectors in the world (L-R) Ed Stahl, Wendell Peterson, and Michael McQuillen.
- 6- With the "Psychedelic '60s" theme, (L-R) Cathy Hosner, Ken Hosner, and Jack Dixey enjoy a poetry reading revival.



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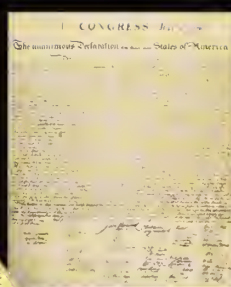
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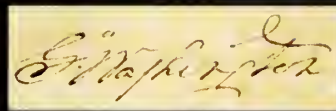
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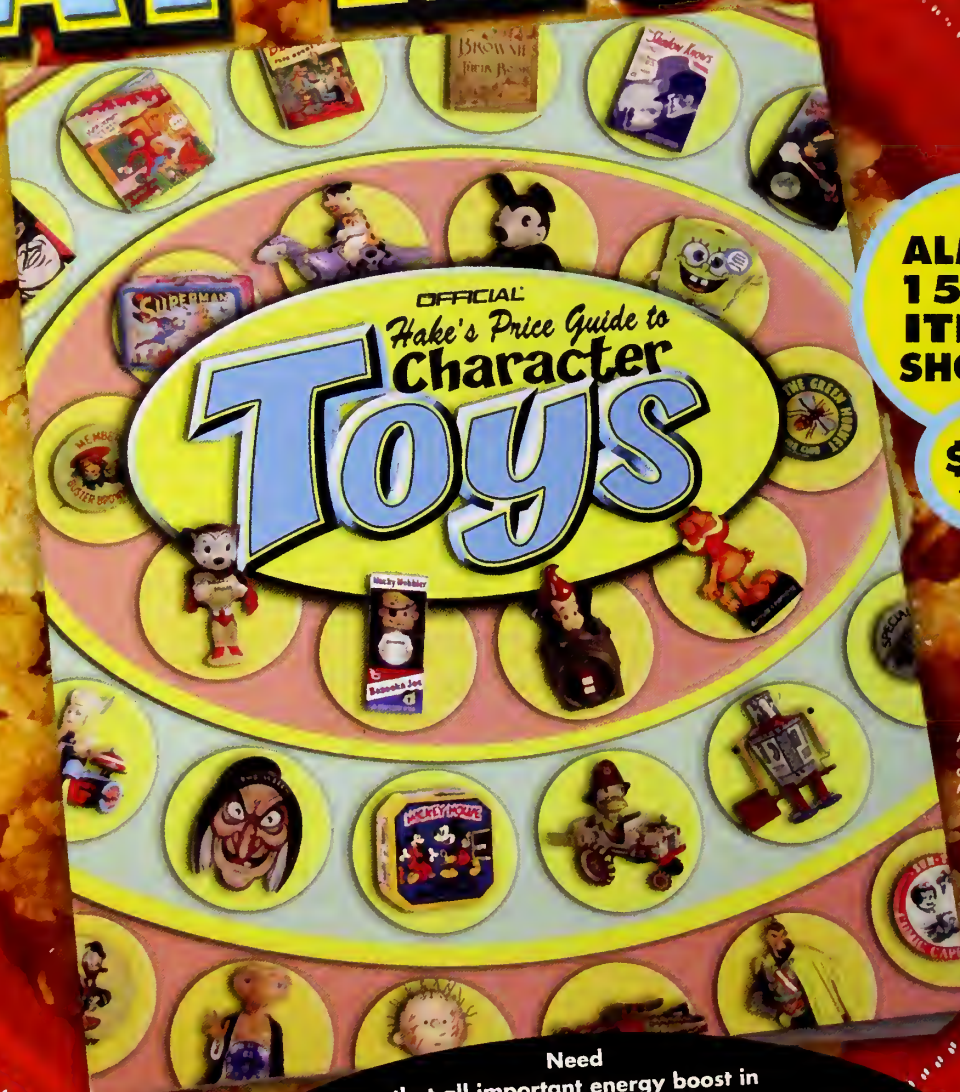
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